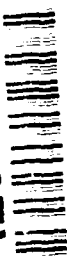


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A "NEW DEAL" FOR AFRICA: A JOINT HUMANITARIAN ROLE FOR U.S. ARMED FORCES

BY

Commander John M. Gray III
United States Coast Guard

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A

"NEW DEAL"

FOR AFRICA:

A JOINT HUMANITARIAN ROLE FOR U.S. ARMED FORCES

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

**Commander John M. Gray III
United States Coast Guard**

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**U.S. Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013**

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ABSTRACT

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TITLE: A "New Deal" For Africa: A Joint Humanitarian Role For U.S. Armed Forces

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New roles and missions are evolving for America's military; these new roles and missions are largely humanitarian with significant peacemaking, peacekeeping, and nationbuilding components. Development issues in Africa, Eastern Europe, the Common Wealth of Independent States (CIS), the Caribbean and the Americas's, will occupy U.S. and U.N. resources well into the next century. Few organizations possess the planning, distribution, and execution capability necessary to deal with development problems of the magnitude facing the New World Order. The U.S. military, particularly the U.S. Army, possess a treasure chest of planning and execution capabilities remarkably well suited to intelligently confronting these problems in coalition with other U.N. partners. This paper examines the feasibility of a U.S. military led U.N. coalition project to build a grid of road, rail and water transportation infrastructure throughout the continent of Africa. Approaching African development through concentrating U.N. coalition efforts on a continent wide transportation infrastructure project puts the problems facing Africa in a fresh and coherent perspective. New light is shed on the problems of agriculture, education, appropriate technology, common language, deforestation, desertification, and AIDS, population and erosion control. Approaching these problems indirectly as part of the transportation project is advocated. Actively using the U.S. military as the lead agent in U.N. coalitions charged with promoting environmentally sensitive humanitarian development in Africa and other depressed areas will help promote peace and prosperity. Active U.S. military participation in planning U.N. development projects is central to preserving America's role as the leader in The New World Order.

INTRODUCTION

Following the Cold War, America's interests in Africa consist principally of democratization, human rights, freedom of navigation, and regional stability. However, upon the issue of regional stability rest interests of access to strategic minerals, oil, and other traded commodities. Those who argue that post Cold War America has no interests in Africa underestimate both the continent's potential and her importance in the global ecosystem. In an environmentally fragile world of increasing European Economic Community isolationism, Africa represents an available and extraordinarily cheap pool of labor and resources for America and Japan.¹

Putting aside moral obligations resulting from America's historic treatment of Afro-American citizens, our long term economic survival interests are linked to strong stable democratic trading partners and a liveable environment. Africa, as a continent, has huge potential in her natural and human resources. Young African nations can, over time with U.S. help, become strong, democratic, ecologically responsible trading partners.

However, the trade picture does not look promising for Africa as we enter the next century. During the coming decades, Japan and the U.S. will propel trade in the Pacific Basin, Far East, and China. Western Europe, and the U.S. will propel trade with Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The U.S., Canada, and Mexico will propel trade through an expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the Western Hemisphere. Africa appears as the odd man out.

African Organization for African Unity (OAU) nations dominate the United Nations on a numerical basis.² America's legitimacy and thus our ability to lead the U.N. in promoting world order depends on African nations support. Africa can take the lead through the U.N. in promoting the interests of developing nations in the New World Order. The West, Europe, and Japan can assist with free trade, free market capitalism, and astutely targeted development assistance. Competing fairly for markets on the peaceful playing field of free trade is in the best interests of all nations.

AFRICA

The enormous sense of hopelessness and frustration one feels when contemplating what might work better for Africa is indescribable. The more one learns of Africa the more pitfalls one sees, God knows how many more pitfalls lie unseen. Congressional and executive gridlock limits the possibilities, as do the legacy of colonialism and an African culture based far more on family, clan, and tribe than nation state.³ So what is America to do? Simply paying our full bill to the U.N. and working under a U.N. coalition banner to promote development would resolve much congressional and executive bickering over foreign development aid. Removing legislative impediments to broader use of the military in promoting development, fighting drugs and reducing terrorism world-wide (including within the U.S.) is overdue. Dividing the world for military and state department purposes into an Americas region, an Atlantic region and a Pacific region is essential if any development progress is to occur in Africa. The U.S., Mexico, Canada, South America, Central America, and the Caribbean should be assigned to an Americas command. The Atlantic and Pacific commands should be divided at the Mexican-U.S. border, by extending the boundary up the U.S. West Coast

to the Alaska-Canadian border, and at the mid-point of the former Soviet Union on a line running north and south through Bangladesh. Such a change in military and State Department boundary lines puts Africa and other developing regions of the World into geographically logical blocks, thus promoting regional, continental, and multi-continental solutions to problems.

NEED FOR A CONTINENT WIDE APPROACH

A continent-wide approach to development is needed in Africa. With the end of the Cold War, a continent-wide approach may be possible. Heavy intervention by African regional organizations and the United Nations to contain fighting is critical. Japan, America, European nations, and perhaps Russia, India, and China have positive and negative experiences to contribute. Wise use of limited African and international financial resources available is crucial. All donor nations are sick of dropping suitcases of money at the door of Africa and seeing it disappear. New and better ideas are needed. Pooling limited financial resources under U.N, IMF, and World Bank management appears overdue.

Helping to speed African development is in the best interests of all developed nations. Advanced products can only be sold in large quantities to other developed nations, but more than financial resources is needed. Commitment, strategic vision, a simple workable plan, and a desire to develop as free market capitalistic democracies on the part of Africa are also needed.

The use of U.N. or African regional peacemakers and economic sanctions to control centuries old simmering conflicts is the first step toward development. Elimination or reduction of racial, sexual, and minority tribe discrimination is the second step. The unfortunate reality in much of Africa is that only men with guns get respect or results. Solutions to Africa's problems will require

good men with guns. This implies a large role for U.N., U.S., and African regional armed forces in promoting and protecting development.

A CONTINENT WIDE TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT

Designing and building a continent wide transportation grid, and the supporting infrastructure required to serve the needs of Africa, is the best investment the World can make in Africa's future. Such a mammoth undertaking makes little sense while conflicts and insurgencies engulf the continent. U.S. and U.N. efforts to allow African people to feel the effects of peace in Angola and Namibia appear to be paying off. Making war and ethnic slaughter cost those involved is equally important.

Famine relief and other altruistic dole-like programs are good for the soul of the donor; whether or not they help the recipients is questionable. Building sound continent-wide transportation infrastructure, establishing a sound continent-wide currency, and teaching English as a continent-wide second language to facilitate trade are the key ingredients for Africa's advancement.

Concentrating on similar key elements, plus peacemaking, worked for Alexander the Great and for the United States in multi-racial and multi-cultural environments. Adam Smith's "Invisible Hand" worked its magic through the efforts of entrepreneurial traders in Alexander's empire and in the U.S. to produce miraculous growth.

Strong armies directed and supported by intelligent civilian governments and the population at large were critical in establishing Alexander's empire. A strong national military ended Civil War revolution in the U.S. and helped pull the U.S. out of the Great Depression. Africa needs strong professional, regional and U.N. sponsored peacemaking and peacekeeping armies.

As a part of the "Global South", Africa can learn from what has and has not worked for the U.S. America learned much in fighting the 1920's and 1930's depression. She learned even more in fighting to end racial and sexual inequality. Yet, bitter hatred and enduring distrust of old foes and other races still lingers in parts of the American North and South over a hundred years after the end of our Civil War. African problems are not much different from America's, just younger and older. African nations are younger. African hatreds are older.

FDR's four freedoms⁴ and his First Hundred Days New Deal programs:⁵ the WPA, TVA, and the marvelous Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) provide a perfect model for the militaries of the U.S., U.N., and African nations to use in constructing continent-wide transportation infrastructure. President Bush, at the request of the Secretary General of the U.N., on behalf of all African delegates, could initiate such a project. President Bush directing the U.S. military to plan an optimal continent-wide rail, road, and water transportation system is the right place to start.

The transportation infrastructure system could be built over the next century under U.N. coalition guidance, with the U.S. acting as the U.N.'s lead agent. Funding for the project would be provided through the U.N. by the U.S., Japan, and all former colonial powers.

African nations could, by giving up a degree of sovereignty to the U.N., IMF, or World Bank, finance a portion of the transportation infrastructure project's cost through resource extraction revenue sharing agreements. Rights to all lands and minerals within five miles either side of the route could be deeded to the U.N., IMF, or World Bank in a manner, similar to the land grants used in financing the westward movement of U.S. rail systems. Revenues from newly produced minerals, crops, or forests on these lands could be shared. Twenty-five percent to the U.N.

earmarked to fund future portions of the project, 25% to the CCC run trading and educational centers, and 50% to the entrepreneur or CCC entity that produced it.

Building of the U.S. transcontinental rail system, interstate highway system, TVA system, TEN TOM waterway system, and nation wide telecommunications system was completed over the past century. These projects contributed mightily to the feeding, clothing, advancement, employment, education, and medical care prospects of average Americans. Building transportation and communications infrastructure would do the same for Africa.

ARMY INVOLVEMENT WITH THE CCC

Extensive U.S. Army involvement in the depression era Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program contributed heavily to its success.⁶ The CCC program brought hundreds of thousands of inner city youths out into the country to work on irrigation, reforestation, and erosion control projects across rural America. Hundreds of thousands of jobs were created and thousands of valuable projects completed under the direction of the Army and U.S. Forest Service at near zero cost.⁷

The Army ran the CCC camps and the Forest Service supervised the work. Spin off indirect benefits of pride, workmanship, trade skills, sound bodies, organizational skills, basic discipline, good nutrition, sanitation skills, and knowledge of basic health care were enormous and enduring. The CCC program, immensely popular with the public, was unfortunately not reestablished in America following WWII.⁸

The military structure of the CCC overlaid on a civilian project, with task expertise provided where needed is ideally suited to building infrastructure, improving agriculture, and reversing deforestation and desertification in Africa. Emphasis on providing employment for local labor and

developing a wide array of building, sanitation, organizational, basic health care, logistical, and English language skills is central.

THE ADVANTAGE OF USING PYRAMID BUILDING TECHNOLOGY

In Africa as in China, the lowest level of technology possible tends to employ maximum manpower and require the least oil, gas, machinery, and other resources. For Africa, low and mid-level technology may therefore be "appropriate technology". Time and building speed are not of the essence. Africa has plenty of time and plenty of labor. Durability and permanence are of the essence, nothing should be built in Africa that is easily destroyable by man or nature. Things built with low and mid-level technology can be rebuilt using the most basic pyramid building technology.

Permanent CCC camp housing, administration buildings, medical clinics, worker training and sports facilities, should be constructed at logical commercial trading and educational centers and abandoned for civilian use as transportation infrastructure projects advance. Logical trading and education centers would be at the intersection of major road, rail or water networks.

All medical and educational facilities constructed along the project's route would be open to all volunteer organizations and local populations under military and CCC service worker direction. Opening these facilities up to volunteer organizations and residents of rural areas of Africa will bring services to some of Africa's poorest inhabitants. Meals, medical care, rudimentary English language training and reading skills, "safe sex" training, parenting training, hygiene awareness training, and child development training would be provided to CCC workers, their wives, and children.

The CCC camp command centers along the transportation grid's spokes would become the school laboratory for the war on poverty, hunger, AIDS, overpopulation, and discrimination against minority peoples and women in Africa. United Nations, Peace Corps and other non-military relief organizations could use the command centers to further expand their efforts in the bush.

CCC camp health care should place heavy emphasis on education in disease prevention through sanitation, use of latrines, clean water, boiling, and the like. Serious stress needs to be placed on "safe sex" education, to fight the twin scourges of pregnancy and AIDS in the camps.

All food consumed in CCC camps should be grown by local farmers trained by CCC camp workers. Improving the efficiency of sustainable yield subsistence agriculture and meat production using only hearty drought resistant indigenous grains and livestock, is a key secondary objective of the continent wide transportation infrastructure project.

Food production, processing, transportation, and storage improvement projects will benefit Africans in rural areas greatly. Projects to improve irrigation, fertilization, reforestation, and erosion and desertification control in regions ahead of and along the route of planned transportation infrastructure projects will also provide lasting benefit. The creation of a center of local expertise for sustainable yield subsistence agriculture, road building, reforestation, and erosion and desertification control after the transportation infrastructure project passes on is a key tertiary objective.

Again, appropriate technology implies concentrating on manpower intensive low and middle level technology agriculture, not high tech energy and machine intensive American or European farming. The existence of a viable transportation network to move excess production to distant markets, and to spread knowledge, will benefit the African Continent for centuries to come.

WHY USE THE MILITARY

From a pragmatic point of view, African military formations are the only stable and enduring elements of government in many African nations.⁹ With the Cold War over and intense U.N. and regional efforts to wind down fighting in Africa, a fact of life, alternative constructive roles need to be found for the U.S., U.N., and African militaries. The transportation infrastructure project and CCC camps must be managed and protected. What better role exists for U. S., U.N., and African militaries?

For the U.S., working with local African militaries to manage the project and CCC camps, provides a unique opportunity to ingrain core American and professional military values into African militaries.¹⁰ The key core American values consist of civilian control of the military, professionalism, patriotism, free market capitalism, private property, democracy, and respect for human rights and the rule of law.

All encompassing Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) models were used effectively by Alexander the Great, in the Philippines in suppressing the Huks, by the British on occasion, and by the U. S. in El Salvador. Ultra low cost LIC models have wide applicability in promoting balanced development in Africa. Africa's acute need for development and the limited resources available challenge international creativity and cooperation. African political, tribal, clan, family and military structures may be amenable to effective incentivising by a U.S. led coalition of project advisors.

Defining the proper role for the French and Japanese as two of the more interested and talented players is critical. Joint U.S., French, and Japanese leadership of the infrastructure project is desirable. Each of us brings widely divergent views and expertise to the project. America needs to persuade the Japanese to practice a less predatory form of capitalism and to convince the French

to step away from European protectionism. Military to military contact could help in both regards. American, Japanese, and French cooperation and respect for each other's talents might be improved by collaborating on the project. World growth in the next century rests on these three nation's collaboration and respect for one another.

Communism's demise has provided the U.S. with a unique opportunity to act as a true beacon of free trade, democracy, opportunity, freedom, and human rights.¹¹ The U.S. no longer indiscriminately supports regimes to maintain the status quo; we now weigh support for democracy and human rights against our other interests. Abandoning Kenya and our other African Cold and Oil War friends over minor human rights problems and retreating into isolationism is shortsighted. We must reward progress and performance relative to other young nations (the U.S. around 1800), not perfection.

Active employment of a small but focused number of military personnel, working hand in hand with political members of in-country teams made a big difference in El Salvador. Hotly debated but clearly articulated Congressional and White House policies contributed to a political settlement of the conflict in a manner acceptable to the Salvadoran groups in conflict. In El Salvador, we followed Senator Fulbright's view that the U.S. should support nationalism rather than fight communism. Similar improvements can be achieved at reasonable cost in many areas of the world, including Africa now that the Cold War is behind us.

Moving both leftist and rightist African regimes toward democracy, freedom, respect for human rights, dispersed ownership of land, market oriented free trade economic systems, and an improving standard of living for peasants is a worthy objective. Land reform, birthrate reduction, and successful subsistence agriculture are essential first steps toward African development.

Paradoxically, these steps may be easier to take with left leaning formerly anti-western African insurgent groups than with rightist groups backed by a small but powerful class of landed or politically autocratic and corrupt elites. A continent wide transportation infrastructure project implies dealing with both authoritarian and leftist leaning African regimes. The project would provide continent wide military to military contact with ample opportunity to push American values.

African military and political leader's fascination with socialism and nationalization of industries threatens young African nations development prospects.¹² If we can't convince young African nation's leaders of the virtues of free market capitalism, we should at least advocate the more market oriented variety of socialism practiced by China. African culture, both autocratic and collectivist by nature, if it is allowed to inhibit individual initiative and foster mass corruption, will bring down African nations, just as Russian communism brought Russia down.

The bankruptcy and peaceful demise of centrally controlled communism as an economic system will hopefully convince Africa's remaining left leaning regimes to adopt market oriented reforms. Market reforms will hopefully eventually lead to democracy and freedom. Many of the successful agricultural and private enterprise initiatives undertaken in China point toward eventual democratization of Chinese society. Chinese agrarian and birth-rate reforms, and Mexican currency, capital market, corporate ownership, and trade law changes are good models for Africa, the U.S., and the U.N. to study. Careful study of Mexican and Chinese experiments may help in developing uniquely African solutions to Africa's development problems. Mexican corruption and fixation on one party states certainly match Africa's. Military to military contact in executing the transportation infrastructure project could, like our years of work with Mexico, ultimately result in the conversion of the entire African continent to democracy and free market thinking.

AMERICA'S LONG TERM INTERESTS

America's long term interests all rest on trade and a liveable environment; an ecologically stable Africa is clearly the key to a liveable world environment. The emergence of strong democratically oriented trading partners from the Third and Fourth Worlds is essential if advanced industrial nations are to continue to grow.

Allowing emerging African democracies to compete in world markets for raw materials, foodstuffs, and easily manufactured goods will over the long haul provide America, Europe, and Japan with valuable consumer populations. The ability to feed a nation's own population has often been followed by industrialization, particularly where free market economic policies flourished. Strong authoritarian even military dominated leadership has frequently been a feature of early free market capitalistic economic development in the Newly Industrialized Countries, Chile, and elsewhere.¹³ The U.S. desire for democracy may have to be balanced against the need for order to promote free market development in the more out-of-control African nations.¹⁴ General MacArthur's militarily installed constitution certainly got Japan on the road to recovery after WWII.

The U.S. military pitching in to help all African nations build a sound system of continent-wide transportation infrastructure will speed the development process. The development process must however, proceed along uniquely African lines. A sound internal transportation system is at least one clearly known additional ingredient, if not a precondition for development.

Eliminating the several hundred billion annual subsidization of American, European, and Japanese farmers would reduce deficits and allow Africa's developing countries export crops to compete where they have at least some comparative advantage. Crop substitution, a proven anti-drug economic strategy, can hardly be expected to work in the face of billions of dollars of

agricultural subsidization by developed nations. Astute improvement of subsistence and export oriented agriculture offers Africans the greatest chance for an improved standard of living. Agriculture can be enhanced through empowerment of rural populations by teaching them to employ appropriate technology and fertilizer.

Feeding the CCC camp workers during the transportation infrastructure project provides great opportunity for military and agronomist advisors to help improve African agriculture continent-wide. One of the project's key objectives would be to rapidly verify the existence of numerous large Saharan aquifers indicated by satellite sensors.¹⁵ If these aquifers exist, large scale irrigated agriculture along the lines of Egyptian pilot projects already in progress can quickly be expanded to alleviate the continent's food shortage. President Bush and future presidents can sell the project to an environmentally conscious American, congressional, domestic and U.N. international constituency large enough to sustain it. The terror of environmental catastrophe from ozone depletion, desertification, and rain forest destruction forms a coherent threat on which presidents can focus public attention.

Military presence of the U. S. Army in countries throughout Africa is critical if emerging nation's militaries are to be convinced to support balanced development, free market capitalism, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. American military officers and enlisted men have great credibility with our military counterparts and ex-military politicians in emerging African nations. The American model of an elected civilian government controlling a highly professional military is an essential bulwark of enduring democracy and must be exported to Africa. Direct military to military contact is the best way to instill these values in African militaries.

Productive, fully understood by both parties, mutually agreed to, "mutually using" commercial and investment relationships, are central to free market capitalistic development. With the legacy of colonialism, fervent black African nationalism, and inherent distrust of the white, brown, and rich black man, getting Africans to enter into productive business relationships will be difficult. Getting previously burned American, Asian, European and Indian investors to return to Africa is equally problematic. A military led infrastructure development effort with military, CCC, U.N., IMF, or World Bank sponsored entrepreneurial activities along its route therefore, appears to be one of the few viable options.

The steady long term commitment of limited, but clearly focused financial, military and other human technical resources, will secure America's interests in Africa. Poorer regions of Africa deserve our attention. Despite achieving our primary objective of defeating Russian communism, we have not been successful enough in promoting the development of free market African democracies. Many African nations, who look to America as a model for development, appear willing to experiment with democratic pluralism and respect for human rights. America can help African democratic experiments succeed by concentrating development aid on transportation infrastructure and military values.

THE IMPORTANCE OF REGIONAL STABILITY

Many conflicts are currently ongoing in Africa with many more ready to erupt. The record of the world's democracies of never going to war against one another clearly points to democracy as the safest political path for Africa's developing nations. A strong internal or external supporting military is essential for the successful development of emerging African democracies with hostile

adjoining neighbors. Continued vigorous U.S. assistance in developing small professional armies, and multi-mission U.S. Coast Guard like navies in emerging democratic African nations is clearly in our best interest. However, letting multinational regional African or U.N. forces fulfill the larger share of the protective role, as President Bush chose to do in responding to Saddam Huessein's invasion of Kuwait, frees up African nation's internal resources for civilian uses.

Civilian use of internal resources for educational, agricultural, health, birth control, and industrial improvements will speed up all African nations development much as Japan's development was sped up by U.S. sponsorship and protection following WWII. Proactive U.N. sponsored coalition peacemaking efforts using African regional troops to control major conflicts is essential, only with forceful U.N. or African regional intervention, can a climate conducive to development be created. Peacemaking operations under African regional or U.N. auspices, the complete cutoff of all aid by all international organizations, and the erection of a total trade embargo are powerful weapons. The aggressive use of these weapons against any African nation attacking across the border of its neighbor or internally against any minority population within a country is fully justified to preserve The New World Order. Restoring order in out-of-control regions of Africa is a must if the transportation infrastructure project is to be completed.

Peoples of the Americas and Africa are brave and fight well, however, avoiding fights by patiently and intelligently investing time, money, and effort in diffusing smoldering hostile situations is not in our nature. In a very real sense, Africa's problems are America's problems. Africa, U.S. inner cities, impoverished rural America, the Caribbean, South and Central America all share: abject poverty, drug abuse, violence, lack of educational and employment opportunities, despair and a lack of hope, high birth rates, ignorance, and AIDS.¹⁶ Large undereducated underutilized

female populations interact with large mobile irresponsible male populations in a destructive cycle which perpetuates poverty and ignorance. Their collision with AIDS and desertification threatens the annihilation of entire peoples. Africa and America must intelligently confront this problem if development is to occur in the poorer U.S. and African inner cities and rural areas.

U.S. military education of African military officers must clearly delineate the complex interplay of many ingredients. Military advisors and trainers who are apolitical have perhaps the best chance of constructively altering African cultural values which inhibit democracy, respect for human rights (including women's), and development. America's slow and painful altering over the past hundred years of similarly defective cultural values toward blacks and women, contributed measurably to our development.

GIVING THE COMMUNIST DEVIL HIS DUE

America can now give the communist devil his due. Communism in the U.S.S.R. and China, despite its shortcomings, removed the land from control of the landed elite class, worked hard to gain control of birthrates, and in Russia's case, achieved commendable levels of education across a racially diverse population. Economically, China's performance has been far superior to Russia's. Due to China's reliance on market economics, nearly half of her domestic product is produced by entrepreneurial and capitalistic enterprises. Free market agriculture and the use of appropriate technology made China self-sufficient in food. Russia and other CIS states have, on the other hand, been far more successful than China in moving to pluralistic democracy. U.S. military advisors in left leaning African nations can work to convince their military counterparts of the wisdom of African states moving in the direction Russia has chosen.

The apparently successful birthrate reduction project developed by U.N. worker and former Catholic Nun, Ms. Villareal, in rural China have great significance for Africa. Ms. Villareal mixes IOUs, IUDs, and the profit motive to encourage birth control among Chinese peasant women through giving poor women loans and incentives to start business.¹⁷ If African countries don't get their birth rates under control Africans will be poor forever. Incentives must be understood and applied to achieve desired ends. We must look to see what motivates the African, particularly the African woman, if Africa is to prosper. Understanding how to incentivise desired African behavior to control population growth and AIDS must form the core of military involvement in Africa.

Using our experience in revitalizing Europe and Japan following World War II to help African nations develop as free market democracies is in the best interest of Europe, Japan, and America. Because many democracies are fragile, we must use Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) methods, peacekeeping, and peacemaking forces under U.N. and African regional organizations to control tribal, inter-tribal, and ethnic rivalries. Trade cannot flourish amid war, and tribal and ethnic violence. Completion of any meaningful portion of the transportation infrastructure project, which would facilitate trade and alleviate many of the root causes of Africa's violent instability, is impossible unless Libya and other disruptive states are silenced. Unilateral U.S. or coordinated African action to remove Qadhafi from power is therefore desirable prior to initiating the transportation project.

Small wars and festering rivalries on the African continent seem never to end. America and the U.N. can ill afford to follow our decisive win in the Cold and Oil Wars with a poorly managed global peace wrecked by the implosion of nations ravaged by civil war. Peace must be sought on a global, continent-wide, and regional basis. National boundaries, no matter how drawn, are

inadequate for today's economic trading world. Regional, continental, and multi-continent trading blocks must band together under a common hard coinage, learn a common language of commerce and capitalism (English), and build a sound well thought out infrastructure of railroads, inter-state and international highways, air, water, and information networks, if they are to effectively trade. Only in such an environment of proper trade facilitating infrastructure can individual entrepreneurial endeavors grow and reap rewards unfettered. Africa as a continent is desperately in need of intelligent tough realistic assistance from international organizations. The U.S. military can be a key player in delivering this assistance.

The military can make no more valuable contribution than to plan and oversee the construction of sensible infrastructure for Africa while simultaneously fostering military professionalism. Execution of the plan to construct transportation infrastructure, as the African continent develops and stabilizes over the next century, could take many forms only one of which is military. In the present climate, a military endeavor appears to be the only viable option.

The Marshall, Kennan, and MacArthur plans to rebuild Europe and Japan and FDR's New Deal show the importance of having a plan, not only to rebuild, but perhaps more importantly, to gain the confidence to try to rebuild.¹⁸ To escape from the legacy of colonialism, Africa needs the confidence that a solid plan provides.

THE PERPETUAL SUFFERERS

No one, not the President, the Pope, nor I has an answer to the question of how to better the lot of the world's perpetual sufferers. Poor Africans, Arabs, American inner city dwellers, and forgotten rural black and Native Americans continue to procreate and suffer.

Not having a complete answer gives Americans, Japanese, and Europeans no excuse for hiding behind a cloak of realism and talk of "interests". We need to get together and find a way to make some money by attacking the problem.

War, famine, AIDS, and policemen, soldiers, or gang members who shoot other people are unacceptable curbs on population growth rates and unrest among the World's poor. Government encouraged or condoned alcohol and drug abuse are equally unsavory methods of sedating disruptive poor populations. General Marshall's success in forcing communities near CCC camps to deal with these problems is a little heard of success story.¹⁹ The U.S. military's efforts to eradicate drug, alcohol, sexual, and racial abuse also set a fine example for Africa.

Bureaucratic bloat and systemic corruption have squandered the billions we have thrown at social problems in the Great Society and various African foreign aid programs. Economic problems very similar to those facing Africa and America today were effectively attacked during the 1932-1960s period. FDR's programs of the 1930's, the post-war interstate highway and housing construction programs, and the Marshall, Kennan, and MacArthur plans for rebuilding Europe and Japan following WWII were far more effective instruments of constructive social change than the Great Society and African aid programs.²⁰ These useful programs took an indirect approach to solving social problems that nurtured human and physical capital formation. Similarly, civil rights laws vigorously enforced by U.S. Army troops in Selma in the 1960s reduced racial and sexual inequality. A massive military planned and led transportation infrastructure project could give Africa a "New Deal".

If African nations and the world are to progress, free trade and individual entrepreneurial initiative must be nurtured and rewarded. Reasonable tax rates, minimal bureaucratic red tape, and

regulation consistent with a clean environment and an acceptable level of corruption must be African government objectives. A clear explanation of America's problems in coping with the Great Depression and ethnic differences provided to our visiting African senior military officers can possibly save Africa some time. Our experience during the period indicate that government and individuals each can and cannot be relied upon to do certain things.

America has spent a long time figuring out what individuals and governments each should and should not do. Building infrastructure, containing corruption, protecting the environment and minority rights, and insisting on the rule of law are clearly government functions. Entrepreneurial endeavors are clearly the realm of the individual. Africa would be wise to profit from both our successes and failures.

If the African military officers won't believe us when we say private individuals are better entrepreneurs, they should ask the Mexicans or just compare the financial performance, service, and food quality of a U.S. military officers club with an entrepreneur run restaurant. Economically, Mexico wasted a hundred years attempting to go down the nationalization redistribution road espoused by the African National Congress (ANC) for a majority ruled South Africa. Only when Mexico reversed course, selling off state enterprises and encouraging 100% foreign ownership of companies, did capital flight cease and investment start to flow back into Mexico.

Organized, anti-western poor people in the various Fundamentalist empires spreading around portions of the Mediterranean, the Southern CIS, and Northern Africa are bothersome to U. S. interests. If Africans and Arabs learn the virtues of open markets and free trade from contact with the U.S. military, we won't have to fight them over oil and minerals. It is preferable to trade Arabs and Africans Coca Colas, burgers, and Toyotas for their oil and minerals. If we don't help poor

Africans and Arabs develop enough to trade with us, we will eventually have to fight them for oil again, perhaps next time against nuclear weapons. Investing some military time and western development capital now to execute a massive transportation infrastructure project along Africa's ancient internal trade routes can prevent us from having to take oil and minerals by force later. Development aid of this type can help slow the spread of nuclear weapons and drug production in Africa.

WHAT A JOINT MILITARY APPROACH CAN DO

A joint military approach can do a lot for Africa. The superb organizational, motivational, educational, engineering, transportation, and training skills of the U.S. Army, Marine Corps, Air Force, Navy, and Coast Guard are ideal tools for attacking many of Africa's problems. America's guard, reserve, and active military components possess extraordinary development facilitation skills. President Bush can apply America's military resources only at the invitation of international organizations, African regional organizations, or individual African nations. Putting the proposed project before the entire continent of Africa U.N. delegation and requiring 100% concurrence on a one time take it or leave it basis is appropriate. If the Africans are not unanimously for the proposal it should be forgotten.

Few of Africa's problems appear solvable within any one African nation's boundaries. Many of Africa's problems, however, appear tractable on a regional basis. For instance, combining a military transportation infrastructure project in Southern Africa with a peaceful melding of the expertise and experience of the white residents, African manpower and the natural resources in Southern African nations could easily propel the Southern Cone of Africa into the first world by mid-

century. Such progress is possible, if and only if, the ANC accepts the virtues, equal opportunities, and income inequities of private capitalistic ownership of industry.

Afrikaners are a valuable resource for Africa.²¹ Political settlement of the South African situation through installing a strong constitution and the rule of law to protect the rights of the white minority and to give rights to the black majority will avert certain slaughter of millions of Africans. The protracted and bloody removal of French colonialists from Algiers was painful to all concerned. Although the French did not go casually, the Afrikaner is no fly-by-night French colonialist who eventually fled Algiers. Like the Israeli he has suffered attempts to exterminate his race, and seen his women and children die in British concentration camps. The Afrikaner has no home country to flee to. Africa is his country, he will ask no quarter and give none, and any and all methods are acceptable to him in conflict for his survival. Direct unilateral U.S. military peacekeeping intervention to assure a smooth transition to a constitutionally based democratic market oriented government in South Africa is warranted, particularly if we can wrangle an invitation from both sides. The U.S. is viewed as a strong and relatively honest broker by both white and black South Africans. We have a unique opportunity. Sufficient domestic support for ending apartheid exists to undertake the operation.

The Horn and middle third of Africa would likely take note of Southern Africa's progress and become amenable to completion of a large U.S. military led coalition infrastructure project in that region by mid-century. Strong commitment to regional peacemaking by the OAU in this and other out-of-control regions should be a condition attached to the project proposal presented at the U.N.

Immediately developing infrastructure in the Sahara region to tap vast reserves of water recently located by satellite sensors should be the first portion of the infrastructure project undertaken. Establishing successful agrarian grain production on a sustainable yield basis is a survival interest to most nations on the continent of Africa. Reestablishing a viable north-south and east-west transportation infrastructure in the Sahara is crucial for African development.

Egypt's experiments in her Western Desert indicate that wheat thrives in the sandy soil of this arid region with irrigation. A dozen or more large aquifers have been tentatively identified in the Sahara. The Egyptian aquifer where a dozen test wells have been dug appears to contain enough water to irrigate 200,000 acres of agricultural land for 200 years.²² U.S. led U.N. coalition peacemaking operations to sanitize the entire Sahara area and to enable verification of the existence of these ground water reservoirs is desirable. Large scale grain production from these arid regions may avert continent wide starvation of fifty to a hundred million people by the turn of the century.

Creating transportation infrastructure to trade the wealth of this region for that of regions to the north, south, east, and west is the first step in reestablishing Africa's ancient traditional (pre-colonial) internal trading networks on a modern footing. From an environmental perspective, constructing a cross continent road network just below the Sahara is the place to join the desertification battle. The success or failure of a CCC style approach to reforestation and erosion control in this region to halt or reverse desertification and deforestation will likely determine whether Africa and the world's ecosystem survive the next century. The U.S., Egypt, Nigeria, and Kenya should be immediately tasked by the U.N. with sanitizing the area so that construction can begin.

CONCLUSION

Comprehensive military managed CCC-like programs under peace time engagement can help promote nationbuilding in Africa. President Roosevelt and General Marshall's Civilian Conservation Corps, WPA, and TVA provide a starting model for running the massive multi-stage African infrastructure project discussed above. The Depression era WPA, TVA, and Civilian Conservation Corps provided meaningful work that hardened bodies, taught basic skills, and provided basic food, shelter and health care. The CCC, WPA, and TVA completed a multitude of valuable conservation, civic action, and infrastructure improvement projects. Perhaps most importantly, the CCC, WPA, and TVA jobs allowed workers to retain their pride while regaining confidence in themselves and their country.

The CCC proved that small numbers of Army personnel can organize and productively deploy hundreds of thousands of unemployed inner city youths. Mrs. Marshall commented that, "Once the CCC boys were provided with a few weeks of training, decent food, organization, hard outdoor work, and rudimentary camp medical care they showed a remarkable improvement in appearance and attitude."²³ Using the military to organize the construction of a massive road, rail, and water transportation network throughout the African continent could productively employ millions using the simplest of technology and maximum manpower. Workers could be paid directly by the U.N. military in dollars or ECUs at a rate of \$1 to \$2 per day to infuse additional hard currency into the continent. Paying workers directly avoids the corruption problems which have doomed past African development projects.

Experimental trading and educational center community service, agricultural, human habitat, and common facilities construction projects along the transportation grid's spokes would employ

millions more African workers as spin offs to the main construction project. Experimental trading and educational center projects would be undertaken only in areas where the military, police, and local political leadership agreed to participate.

The employment and capital formation multiplier effects of the transportation infrastructure project would be substantial. The positive externalities of such a massive project will accrue to many through multiple channels. Gaining the support of individual nations, who must subordinate national self interest to what is good for the continent of Africa, will require wise U.N. and U.S. leadership. The U.S. military can provide this leadership.

Our LIC doctrine offers a comprehensive model for intervening with small but dedicated teams who can energize the indigenous population and military of a country or community, and enable them to fend for and protect themselves. This effective model is little understood or valued in U.S. political and regular military circles. LIC methods supported by aggressive African Regional, U.N. coalition, and unilateral peacemaking actions, have wide applicability in promoting balanced development in Africa's emerging democracies. LIC and militarily managed CCC camps provide ideal tools for pushing left-leaning African regimes toward decentralized market economies and democracy.

Overlaying a comprehensive LIC model upon a massive militarily managed multi-stage WPA, TVA, CCC style transportation infrastructure construction project will do much good for Africa and certainly no harm. Operations Provide Comfort in Iraq and Provide Hope highlight the extraordinary humanitarian mission capability inherent in America's all volunteer military. Deploying a portion of this unique American capability to Africa to establish regional stability and to plan and lead a U.N. coalition in executing a massive transportation infrastructure project is a fine investment

in Africa and the World's future. This is the one promising avenue along which I can see Africa, America, and the U.N. proceeding.

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